Lund University
Lund University Master of International Development and Management
June 2009

SEXUALITY AND POVERTY:

A case study of sex workers in Kampala, Uganda

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Word Count: 15,081

ABSTRACT

The emerging focus on sexuality in development thinking has provided an opening for sex work issues to be included in the development framework. Unequal gender power relations restrict women's employment opportunities and sex work becomes the best option out of very little choices. However, sexuality norms and beliefs have stratified sex work as 'unacceptable'. As a result, sex workers face a wide range of challenges that prevent them from enjoying a full quality of life.

This paper investigates the sex worker's experience of poverty based on their unaccepted sexuality. Using the approach of poverty multidimensionality in the case of sex workers in Kampala, Uganda, it demonstrates that sexuality has an interactive relationship with poverty. It employs a combination of qualitative research methods to capture the lived experience of poverty.

Key words: sex worker, sexuality, poverty, Uganda

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ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
AMwA	Akina Mama wa Afrika
CEDOVIP	Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention
DMSC	Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee, India
FGD	Focus group discussion
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IPC	International Poverty Centre
MoF	Ministry of Finance, Uganda
NAWOU	National Association for Women's Organizations in Uganda
NSWP	Network of Sex Work Projects
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief
R4SW	Research For Sex Work
SANGRAM	Sampada Gramin Mahila Sanstha
SW	Sex worker
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SWEAT	Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce
UAC	Uganda AIDS Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WAS	World Association of Sexology
WHO	World Health Organization
WONETHA	Women's Organization and Network for Human Rights Advocacy
WPD	Web of Poverty's Disadvantages

INTRODUCTION

At any time of the day or night, in different parts of Kampala city, a multitude of individuals are involved in a variety of sexual scenarios. Some of these scenarios are consensual, others are not. In some cases, condoms will be used, and in others, they will not. Passers-by may glance quickly at the scantily-clad women on the covers of trashy tabloids, and others will buy them for prolonged viewing pleasure. Students may be receiving a lesson in sex education and adults may be listening to radio programs that talk about how to maintain personal relationships in the home and at the office. Sexual encounters can happen indoors and outdoors, in homes or hotels. It will happen between and among people who are single and married, old and young, rich and poor. Men will have sex with women, and also other men – just as women seek other women. Individuals will have sex for diverse reasons, whether for pleasure, material or financial gain, reproduction, or a combination of different intentions. Despite the multiplicity of sexual scenarios, relationships, and identities that can be found throughout Kampala city, "sexuality' is still governed by strict moral and cultural codes (Tamale, 2008a; MoF, 2006; Davis, 2000). Consequently, certain sexual practices are valued over others.

Within this diverse sexual setting, the starting point of this study is the specific sexual scenario between a sex worker and client. Sex work, also referred to as prostitution, is a universal controversy, sparking debate on whether to abolish, regulate, or legalize the phenomenon of buying and selling sex and other sexual services (Karandikar, 2008; Chapkis, 1997). Globally, sex work is shrouded in varying levels of social disdain and criminalization. As a result, sex workers are excluded from mainstream society and sex workers throughout the globe face diverse social, cultural, economic, physical, mental, and legal challenges (see R4SW, 1998-2008; Bautista et al., 2008; DMSC, 2007; Jenkins, 2006; Taylor, 2006; Sanders, 2004; Church et al., 2001; Brewis & Linstead, 2000). To date, sex work has been incorporated into the development framework mostly under the term 'prostitution' and through the agendas of HIV/AIDS, trafficking, and violence against women (Seshu & Bandhopadhyay with Overs, 2009; Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998; Bindman, 1997). Many interventions are founded on essentialist notions of sexuality that define it primarily as a

natural function or drive, which must be controlled or managed effectively in order reduce its harmful effects like disease (Corrêa & Jolly, 2006). Moreover, the global North/West most often dictates development policies and donor trends, frequently assuming universal morality over what is 'good' sex and what is 'bad' sex (for example the United State's PEPFAR, see: Masenior & Beyrer, 2007; Hodgson, 2005).

However, there are positive trends to suggest an opening for sex work to be included in development frameworks. There is an emerging research campaign to include sexuality as a new component to development because it is related to poverty, much like gender over last decades. The Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex (IDS) and Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) are currently the main institutions championing sexuality as a missing element in development theory and practice (see Runeborg 2008; IDS 2007a; 2007b). They currently approach the issue of sexuality in various ways: in relation to health services and education, especially for those who break or challenge sexual norms (Gosine, 2005); in a human rights framework, usually under the slogan 'sexual rights are human rights' (Armas, 2007; Sheill, 2006); and in terms of 'pleasure' in order to promote a more positive outlook and openness (Jolly, 2007).[1]

1.1 Problem statement

Sex work is especially denigrated and misunderstood in Uganda (Tamale, 2008a; Ssewakiryanga, 2005). Prostitution is not only illegal; it is a "crime against morality" in Uganda's Penal Code. Much of the research on sex workers in Uganda is based on the assumption that sex workers are a poor, marginalized, and stigmatized social group that either need to be granted their rights or rescued from abuse. Unfortunately, as a consequence of the criminalization laws and negative attitudes, little academic research can be found on the lives of sex workers in Kampala. Instead, sex work in Uganda and across the African continent have predominantly been the subject of medical and public health

[1] Refer to the World Association of Sexual Health's *Declaration of Sexual Rights* (1999) for a full list and description of sexual rights.

research since sex workers are characterized as a 'high risk group' or 'vulnerable population' in the context of HIV/AIDS (Lowndes et al., 2007; Ramjee et al., 1998; Pickering et al., 1997). In addition, sex work research in Kampala implies sex workers are a poor and vulnerable population (Tamale, 2008a; Ssewakiryanga, 2002), but there has not been a comprehensive investigation into lived experience of poverty for sex workers. This paper addresses the limited knowledge on and understanding of sex workers' lives. It seizes the opportunity presented by the current research theme of 'sexuality and development' and provides baseline research on sex worker poverty and how it is related to their sexuality.

1.2 Overview of the study

This study is driven by the perceived problems faced by sex workers and the emerging theory proposing that sexuality is a development issue because it interacts with poverty. This study is premised on the idea that sex work as a practice, activity, and livelihood, is encompassed within the concept of sexuality.

The objectives of this research are:

- To fill some of the research gap on sex work by presenting a case study of sex worker poverty in Kampala.
- To investigate how sexuality is the main cause and feature of sex workers' experience of poverty.
- To strengthen the theory of how sexuality is a crosscutting issue in development.

The following research question guides this study:

- In what ways is sexuality a vital aspect of a sex worker's lived experience of poverty in Kampala?

This study begins with an introduction into the key theoretical concepts that frame this research. In addition, this section discusses the main analytical approaches that directed and informed the research, especially the web of poverty's disadvantages as a useful tool for analysis. This leads into the methodology section, where the overall research design and

methods are presented. Then, the findings are described and simultaneously analyzed in order to answer the above research question. This paper ends with concluding remarks and implications.

1.3 Terminological clarifications

This study decisively employs the terms "sex work" and "sex worker". "Sex work" is used to denote an income-generating activity, and "sex worker" the individual who chooses to sell sex for financial gain (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). There is less stigma attached to these words as opposed to "prostitute" and "prostitution", which are more derogatory and conventionally associated with women only (NSWP, 1997). "Sex worker" emphasizes the notion of agency and labour, and calls for a neutral, accurate expression of a specific economic activity. This contrasts with the words "prostitute" or "whore" which suggests a specific social category of women (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). Sex work should be distinguished from the notion of "trafficking", which is connected to forms of physical and social abuse (Karandikar, 2008).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Sex work

Feminist sex wars: how to understand the act of selling sex?

There are many ways to conceptualize and label the practice of buying and selling sex. In the 1980s, the discussion of sex advanced into heated debate, what has been referred to as the feminist 'sex wars'. On one side of the debate are "Radical Feminists" who are typically cast as those who have a negatively aggressive view of sex.[2] These feminists view sex as an invariable site for women's oppression, male domination, and violence (for example, see Rich, 1999; Barry, 1979; MacKinnon, 1993; Dworkin, 1994). As a consequence of this assumption, 'prostitution' is one of the most symbolic expressions of patriarchy:

> Prostitution: what is it? It is the use of a woman's body for sex by a man, he pays money, he does what he wants. The minute you move away from what it really is, you move away from prostitution into the world of ideas. You will feel better; you will have a better time; it is more fun; there is plenty to discuss, but you will be discussing ideas, not prostitution. Prostitution is not an idea. It is the mouth, the vagina, the rectum, penetrated usually by a penis, sometimes hands, sometimes objects, by one man and then another and then another and then another and then another. That's what it is. (Dworkin, 1994)

For anti-sex feminists, sex is founded on an ideology of polarized objectification where men are subjects/masters and women are objects/slaves (Fergusun, 1984).

On the other side of the sex war are the "sex radicals", who reject any restrictions placed on female sexuality (Chapkis, 1997). By their account, sexual identity and practice has been dominated by a bourgeois ideology, which stratifies different kinds of sex acts as normal and abnormal (see Figure 1 and Foucault, 1978). The stratification is conceived as a patriarchal system of control in that it represses sexual desires and pleasures through social stigma and exclusion. Sex radicals therefore interpret the denigration of sex workers as one method of

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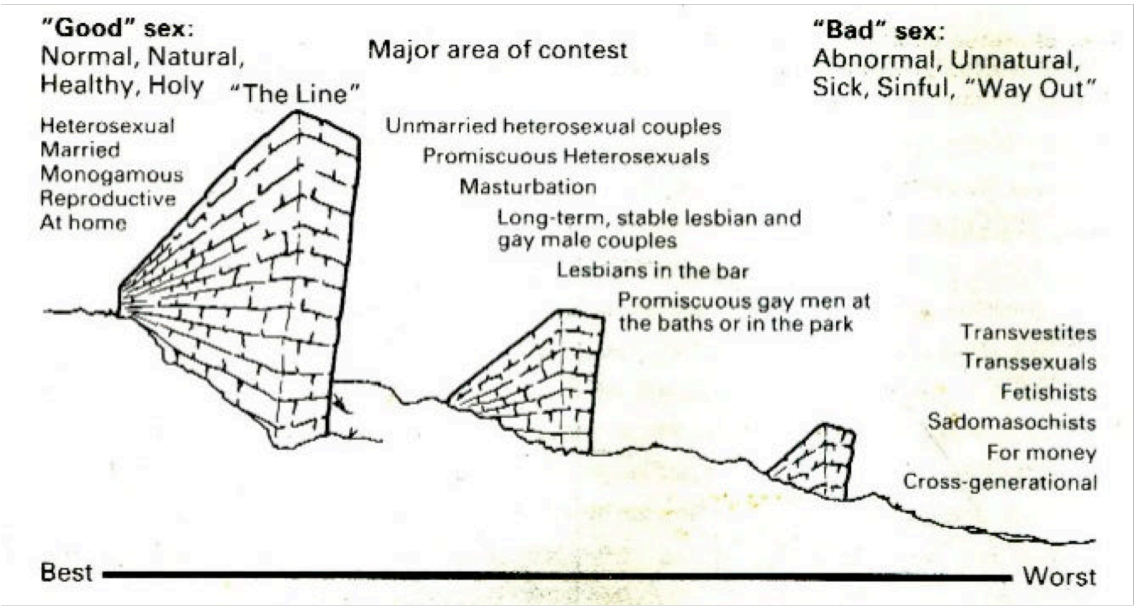
[2] The group labels of "radical feminism", "pro-'positive' sex feminism", "anti-sex feminism", "sex radicalism", and "sexual libertarianism" are taken from Chapkis (1997: 11-40).

control, since these women are effectively challenging men's unlimited access to their bodies by placing a price on the act of sex (Rubin, 1999).

Figure 1. An illustration of sexual hierarchy



(Source: Rubin, 1999: 154)

In sex radicalism, the act of selling sex can be re-conceptualized as an act of agency and subversion in that women (and some men) who sell sex are making active use of the existing patriarchal order for their own benefit (Chapkis, 1997). Scutt (1979) goes as far to suggest that prostitutes are actually in a better position compared to many married women, since married women can receive little recompense and recognition for their domestic labour, are just as vulnerable to violence from their partners, and ultimately have less control over resources. Nevertheless, sex workers are far from being better off since viewing sex as 'work' is still hampered by prevailing androcenticism and sexism that does not give the value to women's work and emotional/sexual labour (Hochschild & Ehrenreich, 2003).

In the end, the sex war caused the debate over sex work/prostitution to become over-simplified, masking important variations. Indeed, many feminists reject the essentialized descriptions of sex based purely on male domination (as with radical feminists) or sexual liberation (as with sex radical feminists). There is a need to move beyond the uncompromising

dichotomy of victim/deviant. Instead it is necessary to take into account both sides of the argument:

> to focus only on pleasure and gratification ignores the patriarchal structure in which women act, yet to speak only of sexual violence and oppression ignores women's experience with sexual agency and choice and unwittingly increases the sexual terror and despair in which women live. (Vance, 1984: 1)

In order to construct an accurate and fair picture of sex work(ers), it is imperative to be open to the different interpretations, contexts, and complexities in one given sexual encounter or practice. Moreover, it is crucial to be aware of one's subjectivities and how they influence one's assumptions and opinions.

Sex work literature in Uganda

Available research on sex work in Uganda is limited both in number and conceptualization. The most crucial text would be the Uganda Penal Code that outlaws prostitution:

> (1) Every person who knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution and every person who in any place solicits or importunes for immoral purposes commits an offence and is liable to imprisonment for seven years… In this Code, "prostitute" means a person who, in public or elsewhere, regularly or habitually holds himself or herself out as available for sexual intercourse or other sexual gratification for monetary or other material gain, and "prostitution" shall be construed accordingly. (Section 136 and 138, Chapter XIV, Penal Code Act)

However, the practical enforcement of this law has proven inefficient since it is difficult to distinguish whether sex between two adults is for love or for transaction (Tamale, 2008a). Sex workers have therefore been prosecuted under the "Idle and Disorderly" law whereby "Any person who— (a) being a prostitute, behaves in a disorderly or indecent manner in any public place…" will face up to three months imprisonment, a fine, or both (Section 167, Chapter XIV, Penal Code Act). The law has proven to be a method of harassment by the police, and arrests are not accompanied with fair trial and treatment by law enforcers (Tamale, 2008a).

Otherwise, sex work is addressed in public health literature. These studies document transactional sex in terms of "prostitution", risky and deviant behaviour, violence, and/or spread of HIV and other STIs (see Pickering et al., 1997; Bakwesigha, 1982; Southall &

Gutkind, 1957). As is the case with sex work research globally (see Vanwesenbeeck, 2001), this literature is focused more on *sex* and less on *work*.

However, recent innovation in Ugandan sex work research has enhanced the breadth and depth of the local research frontier. Ssewakiryanga (2002) examines the politics of identity construction for sex workers in Kamapala and how this is influences the configuration of sex work in Uganda. Meanwhile, Gyseles, Pool, and Nnalusiba (2002) offer insight into the diverse personalities of sex workers and evaluate the different survival strategies employed by sex workers. Finally, by problematizing the moral assumptions the Ugandan Penal Code, Tamale (2008a) contests the criminalization of sex work in Uganda.

Sex work/prostitution are common topics in local newspapers. The ongoing indecision and fervour over how to deal with sex work evokes sensation and sensitivity among most readers. Articles are usually unfavourable in order to encourage public criticism, e.g. "Sex workers re-use condoms" (Ariko, *New Vision*, 31 Jan 2009) or overly victimizing in order to arouse sympathy, e.g. "A reformed prostitute" (Batte, *Daily Monitor*, 22 Jul 2008).[3] A published photograph showing a sex worker negotiating with a client in an official government vehicle caused scandal last autumn 2008. This was followed by a proposal by Nsaba Buturo, Ugandan Minister of Ethics, to use the media as a "weapon of shame" and publish the names of sex workers and their clients in order to further 'combat' the 'problem' of sex work (qtd in Natabaalo, *Daily Monitor*, 19 Sep 2008).[4]

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[3] This is a common pattern in media. See for example *Beyond Vice and Victimhood: Content Analysis of Media Coverage on the Issues of Sex workers* (CASAM, 2008)

[4] This threat carries a lot of weight since the name-and-shame tactic has already been practiced in the case of homosexual men. In August 2006, The Red Pepper, a Ugandan tabloid, printed 45 names and professions or areas of work of alleged gay men (BBC, 2006, September 8).

2.2 Sexuality

Sexuality discourses

The World Health Organization gives one of the most comprehensive definitions of sexuality:

> Sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors. (2006: 5)

As a global institution, it is appropriate for the WHO to use such a broad and inclusive conceptualization. However, on a more individual level, understandings of sexuality can be characterized by an intense metatheoretical debate on two broad discourses of sexuality. First, essentialist thinking presumes that sexuality is the outcome of natural biological phenomenon; a product of fixed and inherent drives within the individual human being (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998).[5] In addition, scientists from an essentialist standpoint see sexuality arising first, with consequent cultural and social responses; sex was 'natural', and it existed distinctly, and in opposition to, civilization, culture, or society (Gagnon & Parker, 1995).

Particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s, social constructionists began to reject the essentialist view of sexuality as 'nature' (Bay-Cheng, 2006; Vance, 1999; Gagnon & Parker, 1995). Instead, they believed sexuality was collectively shaped by social, economic, cultural, religious, legal, and historical forces. By their account, sexuality is not a natural given, but a construction by society. Sexuality is highly contextualized to a time, place, situation, and individual involved:

> The act of coitus, for instance, might be construed as an expression of intimacy ("making love"), a casual act of physical gratification ("hooking up"), a violation of bodily and personal integrity (rape), a form of labour performed in exchange for resources (prostitution) or even a military strategy (as in the case of systematic wartime rape). (Bay-Cheng, 2006: 207)

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[5] For example of biological essentialist studies on sexuality, see Hamer et al. (1993), and LeVay (1991)

In lieu of biological determinants, social constructionists examine the multiple institutions, norms, practices, and relations that construct, define, and regulate sexuality. Most significantly, they investigate how sexuality is mutually reinforced by gender norms (Ilkkaracan & Jolly, 2007).

In Uganda, women's sexuality has been socially constructed in a restrictive way in comparison to men's sexuality. This is demonstrated by the nonacceptance of women's extramarital affairs and acceptance of men's promiscuity, adultery, and polygyny (Tamale, 2005). Historically, colonialists were the ones to codify restrictions on sex work as part of their perceptions of Africans being hypersexual and depraved (Tamale, 2005). In postcolonial Uganda, urban women continue to face negative stereotypes in regards to their sexual autonomy and independence (Davis, 2000). A recent proposal of a mini-skirt ban is a very modern and direct example of the unequal control over female sexuality (see BBC, 2008, September 17).

These rules around sexuality have an impact on the configuration of sex work. In Uganda, sex work is seen as a 'vice' and a 'problem' that needs to be eliminated. Blame is disproportionately directed at women compared to men, since it is the seller of sex (usually women) and not the buyer of sex (usually men) that is punished in the Ugandan Penal Code. In March 2008, an international rights-awareness workshop for sex workers was banned based on the reasoning crusaded by the Minister of Ethics, Nsaba Buturo:

> We don't take any delight at all in the idea that prostitutes are coming together to devise ways of spreading their vice…Uganda's made a decision that … prostitution and those things are not our way of life. Anyone who violates them really will deserve what they get. (qtd in BBC, 2008, March 25)

It is important to reflect upon discourses of sexuality and how it is affecting and being affected by other social structures. Some of these assumptions, ideologies, and opinions are at the root of different social, legal, and economic structures affecting sex work in Uganda, often in adverse and unfavourable ways for sex workers.

The relationship between sexuality and poverty

There has always been a relationship between sexuality and poverty – but it has only recently become an imperative part of development interventions. There are several ways to link poverty to sexuality, and vice verca. To explain how poverty affects sexuality, often cited examples are the complications during pregnancy and childbirth that are the leading cause of death and illness for women in developing countries and how HIV/AIDS claims approximately three million lives in one year (UNFPA, 2005). In both these examples, material poverty may have prevented one from being able to pay for health services and obtain sexual protection or contraception. Through the same example, it is apparent that sexuality can affect poverty: cultural norms and beliefs around sexuality may have prevented one from receiving necessary sexual and natal health care and information.

Beyond examples related to health, the relationship between sexuality and poverty is apparent in social, cultural, and economic examples in Uganda. Uganda exhibits a typical patriarchal society where women are for the most part subordinated in all areas of society (UNDP, 2004).[6] In addition, African women are defined primarily by their sexuality as mothers and wives (Tamale, 2004). In many cases, these roles have been commanded by the practice of bride price, which promotes the notion that women are also men's property (MoF, 2006). As a consequence of these roles, girls are less likely to enrol in school and more likely to drop out, which leads women to remain in domestic and informal labour (MoF, 2006).

Women's weak socio-economic position makes it difficult for them to control their own sexuality: negotiation of male condom use is unsuccessful for many women (de Bruyn, 1992); using vaginal products is often kept secret out of fear of perceived infidelity and promiscuity (Green et al., 2001); and sexual violence against women is common (Karamagi et al., 2006), as well as accepted in certain situations (Koenig et al., 2003). Råssjö, Mirembe, and Darj (2006) found material poverty to be an influence on women's sexual behaviour, specifically looking at how younger girls in Kampala were seeking out older men in the widespread 'sugar-daddy'

[6] One fictional resource used for this study makes this point very well, by demonstrating the different obstacles girls and women face in Uganda throughout their lifetime, see Kisubi (2008).

phenomenon.[7] As a result of all these issues combined, the feminization of HIV/AIDS is growing problem in Uganda (UNFPA, 2005; Marcus, 1993)

Conversely, studies have shown that Ugandan men have more sexual freedom: men often practice polygamy (Karamagi et al., 2006), have more sexual partners but can be at less risk to STIs (Råssjö, Mirembe, & Darj, 2006), and men can speak more openly about sex (Wolff, Blanc, & Gage, 2000). A recent study on Ugandan masculinity revealed that men believe that they have a higher sex drive compared to woman, giving them the natural right to enjoy and demand sex, often from multiple partners, within and outside of marriage (Brawley, 2006). In the same study, the findings show that men were well aware of their power over women to refuse the use of condoms in a sexual relationship.

Other research offers more encouraging, complex, and fresh evaluations of sexuality to show that male domination is not absolute, if not always complex. Tamale (2005) argues that sexuality is a site of oppression for Ugandan women in the colonial and postcolonial eras, but that sexuality can still be conceived at as a potential site for pleasure and empowerment.[8] In addition, women can and do refuse sex with their partners (Wolff, Blanc, & Gage, 2000; Davis, 2000).

2.3 Analytical approaches used in this study

Feminist postmodernism

There has been ongoing disagreement over prostitution/sex work at both the academic and policy levels, but this has not produced widespread social acceptability of sex work and the

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[7] Sugar daddy relationships are common in Uganda where young women engage in steady sexual relationships with older men in exchange for material goods and financial support. Sugar mommies are also a common, but less talked about, occurrence. These relationships not directly classified as 'prostitution'/ 'sex work'. Instead they are framed as a health issue – see for example the Population Services International campaign against 'cross-generational sex' (Natukunda, *New Vision*, 1 August, 2007)

[8] In her research, Tamale uses the example of the *Ssenga,* an institutionalized and traditional practice where the paternal aunt (or a surrogate) mentors young girls and women in various sexual matters.

individuals engaged in it. Sexuality beliefs and systems have simultaneously allowed the sex trade to persist and be stigmatized. Postmodernism advocates that presiding trends and patterns in society be deconstructed in order to give equal (if not more) value to competing dissident voices (Strega, 2005; Marchand & Parpart, 1995).

Instead of presuming that sex workers in Kampala inevitably experience poverty, this research adopts a postmodern position to investigate *how* sex workers experience poverty: "Postmodern thinkers reject universal, simplified definitions of social phenomena, which they argue, essentialize reality and fail to reveal the complexity of life as a *lived experience*" (author's emphasis, Marchand & Parpart, 1995: 4). Especially for development, poverty should not become a given in developing countries and among underprivileged groups. It is a variable, diverse phenomenon, both as a concept and as a harsh reality, which needs to continually re-investigated and re-conceptualized.

The feminist element to postmodernism in this study is premised on the goal of challenging discourses of social inequality. Sex work is invariably tangled in sexuality and gender inequalities. On the one hand, sexual norms posit the sex worker as an 'outcast' and on the other hand, unequal gender power relations are still found within and around the phenomenon of sex work. Feminist postmodernism gives strength to the idea that inequalities based on sexuality and gender are *socially* constructed and not immutable (Flax, 1987). In other words, assuming that the norms and power relations governing our society are not based on natural, biological facts, one is able to overcome and transform those ideas to achieve social equality.

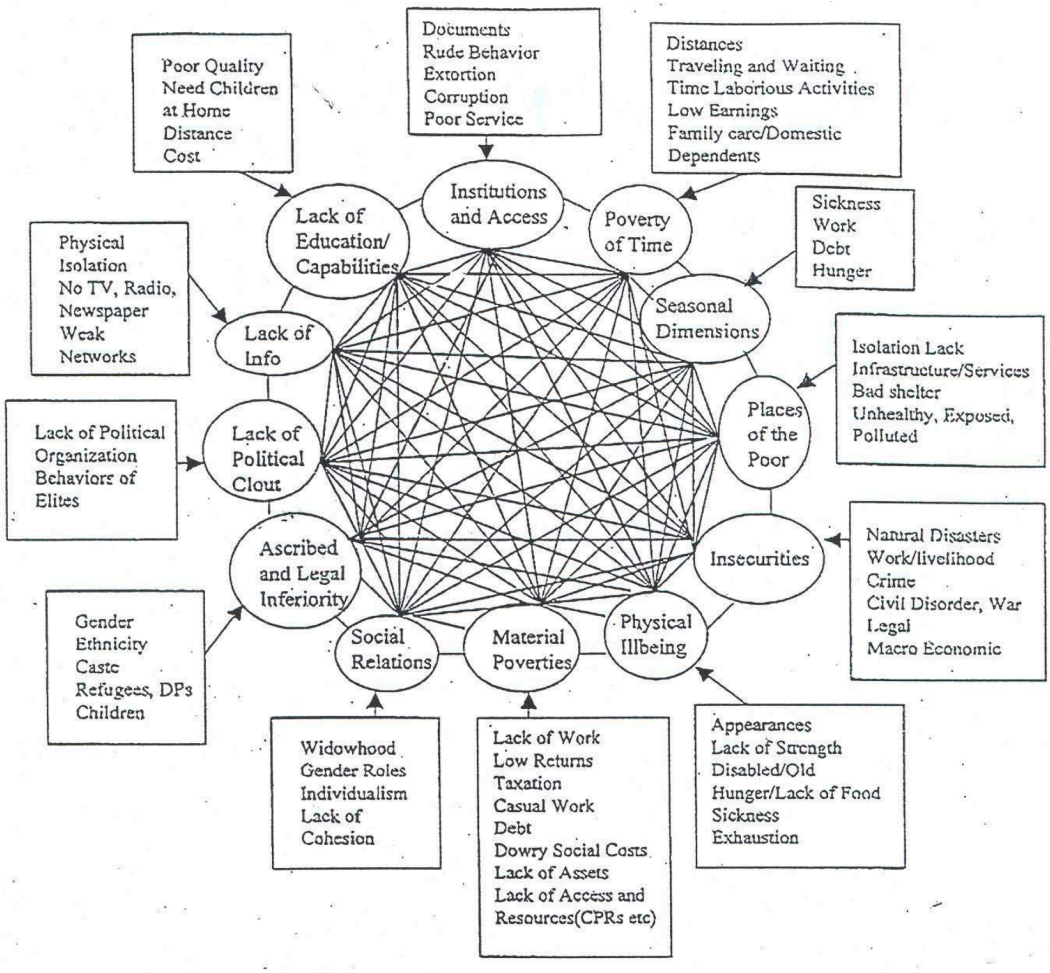
Multidimensionality of poverty

This study takes a multidimensional approach to poverty and employs Chambers' Web of Poverty's Disadvantages (WPD) as an analytical tool for investigating sex worker poverty.[9] The conceptualization of poverty has been continually sophisticated; it has moved beyond simple

[9] So far, there are only two known usages of Chambers' WPD: one in relation to sexuality, (Corrêa & Jolly, 2006: 4) and the other with a specific example of *travestis* in Peru (Campuzano, 2009: 77).

measures of income and wealth to issues of health, capabilities, rights, security, gender, empowerment, freedom and so on (IPC, 2006; Des Gasper & van Staveren, 2003; Sen, 1999;). Furthermore, each of these areas has been further explored and broken up. In this way, development thinkers and practitioners have been encouraged to address poverty in all of its forms. The WPD conveys the multidimensional nature of poverty, as illustrated in Figure 2. The dimensions include: 1) material poverty; 2) insecurities; 3) social relations; 4) physical ill-being; 5) places of the poor; 6) poverty of time; 7) seasonal dimensions; 8) lack of education/capabilities; 9) ascribed and legal inferiority; 10) lack of political clout; 11) lack of information; and 12) institutions and access. While Chambers (2005) himself recognizes the diagram's apparent over the top complexity, it nevertheless captures the different elements of poverty that were continually raised in discussions with poor peoples.

Figure 2. Web of poverty's disadvantages



(Source: Chambers, 2005)

Chambers himself has not fully elaborated each of the dimensions. This is likely due to his endeavour to allow poor people to describe and define these issues themselves. However, he notes four neglected dimensions: 1) physical illbeing, especially in terms of the body; 2) places of the poor; 3) poverty of time; and 4) seasonality. The apparent meaning of each of these dimensions will be fully drawn out in this study's findings and analysis.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

A qualitative methodology was suitable for this study because it fulfilled the goals of this study and ambitions of social research (see Ragin, 1994: 83-85). Firstly, in addressing the research gap on sex work this study sought to give voice to a marginalized group in society and also academia. A qualitative approach allows the researcher to produce better representations of the study group through in-depth data collection methods that are not a part of quantitative studies. This was achieved mainly by listening to the research participants' opinions and reflections on their lived experiences of poverty. Secondly, qualitative methods helped to interpret the data in a culturally significant way within a natural (rather than experimental) setting. Lastly, in-depth knowledge and raw data gained through qualitative research could be used to advance the theory of sexuality's relation to poverty. New or divergent data prompted a re-visit to the notions of sexuality and poverty, ultimately offering greater elaboration and appreciation of these central concepts for development.

Additionally, a case study approach was used strengthen the qualitative methods (see Creswell 2007; Flyvbjerg 2006; Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster 2000). Firstly, the case study method facilitated a thorough investigation of a chosen social group. Secondly, case study method promoted the acquisition of concrete, practical, and context-dependent data. Finally, case study method was used to test the general hypothesis that sexuality is a vital aspect of poverty, and therefore an important issue for development.

3.2 Data collection methods

Sampling

The main part of the study was carried out in two neighbourhoods of Kampala city, Kabalagala and Kisenyi, where sex work communities are widely known to exist. The first neighbourhood, Kabalagala, is a popular entertainment district of Kampala with an active

nightlife.[10] Data collection took place within the busiest area where there are many bars, nightclubs, restaurants, and 'lodges'[11]. Most of the Kabalagala participants were taken from one particular lodge in Kabalagala, which was visited a number of times throughout this study. This lodge had many regular sex workers, who used the lodge as their work place. The second neighbourhood is Kisenyi, a notorious slum area in the central business area of Kampala.[12] Data was collected in well-known sex worker locales in Kisenyi.[13]

Being that sex work is a criminalized and stigmatized activity, it is nearly impossible to obtain a random sample, and researchers are forced to pursue non-random sampling methods (Wahab & Sloan, 2004; Lee, 1993). For the same reason, gaining access to sex work communities requires considerable discretion, and access inevitably determines whether or not the research can even be successful (Sanders, 2006). My working relationship with a local sex worker member-based organization, Women's Organization Networking for Human Rights Advocacy (WONETHA) offered me the invaluable support during my research. They acted as the main gatekeepers to the sex work community and Daisy, a WONETHA staff member, became my research assistant. Daisy had previously worked as a sex worker and many of the research participants knew and trusted her, otherwise they granted her immediate confidence because of their shared identity. Additionally, I was able to use my close relationship with a boda-boda[14] driver to recruit individuals who either admitted to paying for sex themselves or knew others who hired sex workers.

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[10] For further information about Kabalagala, see for example the website for one of the most notorious night clubs, Capital Pub (http://www.capitalpub.com). The website demonstrates the male-dominated and sex-oriented atmosphere of this area through numerous pictures of nearly naked and dancing women.

[11] Lodges are typically understood as short-stay hotels for travellers, but are frequently being used by sex workers and their clients for business transactions. These lodges are used mostly by richer clients want privacy and a decent place to have sex (Ssewakiryanga, 2005)

[12] For further information about Kisenyi, see this YouTube video of a local documentary produced to show the experience of slum life (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VeTbwcD6DK4).

[13] Kisenyi has historically been associated with sex work and many studies and public health projects have taken place in Kisenyi communities (Råssjo et al, 2006; Bunnell et al, 2005; Ssewakiryanga, 2005; Kasirye, 2004; Bakwesigha, 1982; Southall & Gutkind 1957)

[14] Boda-boda is a motorcycle taxi, one of the most common forms of transport in Kampala.

The sensitivity of the research topic, my outsider status, and my time and resource constraints led me to employ an information-based sampling techniques in order to earn participants in the sex work community. Being that this research is qualitative and exploratory in nature, it was appropriate to use non-random sampling. Nevertheless, I wanted to pay attention to the common problem of selection bias in studies of prostitution (Weitzer, 2005: 938). In the end, participants were selected and recruited on the basis of three factors: 1) convenience, whether or not they were available to participate; 2) consent, whether or not they were willing to participate; and 3) contact, whether or not they knew and/or trusted Daisy. Fifteen sex workers participated in FGDs, from which seven sex workers were recruited for in-depth interviews. Seven male clients/friends of clients also participated in a FGD.

Well-known individuals and groups who had demonstrated experience dealing with women, gender, and/or sex work issues were also contacted for this study. In this instance, expert sampling was used. In order to address sampling bias, I asked these participants which other individuals/groups would be likely to agree or disagree with the given responses and then contacted the suggested names for my research. Consequently, I was able to represent a range of viewpoints in the data gathered from six different experts.

Focus group discussions

Six focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted as one of the first steps for data collection and research design (see Appendix 1 for a full list of FGDs). The purpose of the FGDs was to obtain the collective views of the sex work communities from both sides of the industry, that is the supply side (e.g. sex workers, brothel owners, and pimps) and demand side (e.g. clients). Moreover, FGDs were used to demonstrate group dynamics within itself and between others. The insights and information gained from FGDs were used to inform the next stages of data collection, particularly the in-depth interview questions with sex workers.

The composition of the FGDs were based on shared interests, either supplying sex or demanding sex, as well as location, that is, participants were recruited from the same, working area, or community. The supply and demand groups reflected the typical gender divide that characterizes the sex industry around the world: supply groups were composed primarily of women, all of whom were sex workers, while the demand groups were composed only of men. Still, the groups were not homogenous. Each group had a range of ages, tribal/ethnic identities, classes, and social standings.[15]

As a result of the differences within the groups, power inequalities were still present. While I made sure to give everyone a chance to speak, the apparent power relations contributed to a more accurate and fuller analysis. Overall, power relationships did not visibly hamper anyone's participation and the discussion still yielded a mixture of responses. At least to some extent, this indicated a relatively free and open group of individuals, and the familiarity between group members facilitated the opportunity to assess the collective beliefs, understandings, behaviours, and attitudes (see Lloyd-Evans, 2006).

Permission, scheduling, location, language, and compensation played a significant role in the procedure of the FGDs. Firstly, My research assistant and I visited the target areas a few times to explain our research aims, recruit participants, and earn permission to hold an FGD in the community. Secondly, We made sure to arrange FGDs at convenient times and places for the sex workers, usually during slow business hours and in their areas of work. Thirdly, most participants did not speak English and I was no fluent in the local language of Lugandan. Therefore interpretation was provided by Daisy, who co-facilitated all the discussions. Finally, in order to encourage involvement and express my gratitude, participants were compensated.[16]

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[15] The diversity exhibited in the group composition will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter as it represents one of the main findings of this study.

[16] For the full details on FGD procedures see Appendix 2.

Interviews

Individuals from two different groups were recruited for interviews (see Appendix 3 for list of interviews). The first group was made up of previous and current sex workers who had participated in the FGDs. An in-depth interview (ID) format was chosen to address particular research areas while concurrently providing interviewees the opportunity to develop their own ideas and opinions (Willis, 2006: 145). Participants were asked to speak on the conditions of sex work and the effects of sex work on their quality of life. These interviews were loosely guided by Chambers' WPD, and were managed in a way as to invite divergent dimensions that had not been covered by Chambers. They were also designed according to the findings of the FGDs: new dimensions or views that had been offered by the focus group were expanded upon in the individual interviews. Sex workers were compensated for their time, especially if they had taken time off from work to be interviewed or travelled far to the meeting place. The semi-structured interview (SSI) format was chosen for expert interviews in order talk about key research themes while still allowing the interviewee to control the flow of the conversation.

Observation

Throughout the data collection phase, both participant and non-participant observation took place. Through the process of participant observation, a good rapport with the participants was established. People became more comfortable and familiar with my presence, allowing me gain an insider status and become part of the natural setting (Creswell, 2007; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). WONETHA and Daisy helped me to identify the key persons and activities to observe. Participant observation in my cases implied visiting sex workers at their work places and homes, accompanying them during their visits to health facilities and civil services, using the local language, enjoying meals and drinks with them, and conversing about daily events and news. Most significantly, I allowed myself to be viewed as a sex worker more than once when sitting with sex workers at their places of work. This implied that I sit through the process of the client selecting a sex worker and negotiating a price with a middleman. This practice allowed the research participants to feel that I could be one of

them and that I was willing to understand their experiences without judgment or fear. My identity would eventually be revealed and the reaction from all those present was mostly shared amusement and respect. This experience was the most important way of gaining tacit knowledge instead of just propositional knowledge (Stake 2000, 20) – it remains as one of the most memorable parts of my research experience.

3.3 Data analysis process

Overall, the data analysis was guided by Chambers' WPD.[17] In addition to attempting to confirm or contract the WPD, I looked for new dimensions that were not covered by the WPD and might be unique to the specific case of sex workers in Kampala. The WPD helped to formulate the main images of the study (the twelve dimensions of poverty) that would eventually illustrate the main concept (the relationship between sexuality and poverty).

The data analysis process consisted of five different forms of analysis and interpretation for case study research as given by Stake (1995) and Creswell (2007: 153-154). The first type of analysis involved the exercise of thoroughly describing all the aspects of the case as a whole. This included details of the main participants of the study, the work places of sex workers, dynamics and conditions of sex work, and perceptions and attitudes of sex work in Uganda. Then categorical aggregation took place where I collected and coded the sex workers' experiences of poverty according to each of the dimensions of the WPD. Any data that did not fit these categories was subjected to the third type of analysis, that is, direct interpretation. Here, I tried to draw meaning from the given data based on the overall theory of how sexuality affects poverty, and develop new dimensions of poverty that Chambers had not included. Fourthly, all the data was reviewed to specifically identify the reoccurring pattern of how sexuality was directly contributing to the sex worker's poverty. At this point, I started to recreate the WPD according to the case study. Finally, naturalistic generalizations were made about the data as a whole to conclusively demonstrate how sexuality does have

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[17] As a reminder, these were: 1) material poverty; 2) insecurities; 3) social relations; 4) physical ill-being; 5) places of the poor; 6) poverty of time; 7) seasonal dimensions; 8) lack of education/capabilities; 9) ascribed and legal inferiority; 10) lack of political clout; 11) lack of information; and 12) institutions and access.

an impact on poverty, therefore be regarded a key development issue. A final WPD was developed with specific examples related to the case study.

3.4 Methodological nuances

Positionality

This research project was designed within a framework of 'sex work'. This diverges from other studies of 'prostitution', which define prostitution as a form of violence against women. These kinds of studies concentrate more heavily on incidences of violence, often using sensationalist tactics to evoke emotion out of the reader, oversampling victims of violence in data collection, and denying women any sense of agency or happiness in the realm of prostitution (see Weitzer, 2005; Doezema, 2001). Alternatively, the sex work provided a neutral starting point for interviewees to reflect on both positive and negative conditions of sex work.

Concerning the 'politics of position' (Sultana, 2007), since it is predominantly women selling sex in Kampala, I shared a feminine identity with the sex workers. This aided me in being more approachable and less intimidating, but it was mostly my mzungu[18] status that promoted my acceptance in sex work community by both women and men. It was explained to me that my mzungu image would make research participants less suspicious of me, since being a white outsider is associated with well-intentioned development work and charity (Tamale, SSI, 11 December 2008). Even so, I made an effort to downplay my clothes and hair since they were the main visual and physical signs of class difference among urban women in Kampala.

[18] Mzungu is a local term used for 'white person', and has connotations with being rich and educated.

Ethical considerations

This research is based on the concept of sex work, not prostitution. It was necessary to ensure that research participants had not been physically forced into sex work, nor forced to remain. This information was obtained by directly asking the participants, who all confirmed they had ultimately chosen to enter into sex work. This confirmation was strengthened by the participants' apparent ability to meet me in different locations and times, implying that there were no visible restrictions placed on her movements and schedule, which might not be the case if she was being controlled by a third party.

The issue of confidentiality was critical with the sex workers who participated in this study. Despite the illegality of sex work in Uganda and the fervent hunt to jail and expose sex workers by certain city officials through the publication of photos and lists of names, all sex worker participants consented to have their real names used in this study. Nevertheless, I feel ethically responsible for their safety: names were removed and reference was made to interview number (ie. IDI #), and no photographs were taken.

Emotions

There were many stories of violence, rape, betrayal, robbery, death, and disease, which incited a range of emotions in the research participant, the research assistant, and myself. Acknowledging these feelings of sadness, anger, anxiety, and frustration, on my part, was vital to the research process in that it was inherently a demonstration self-awareness, personality, and commitment to the issue. Instead of trying to meet the standards of the positivist tradition, I readily engage with emotion as part of feminist research and disagree with the notion that absolute objectivity is even attainable (Blakely, 2007). Additionally, the emotions of sex workers became part of the main findings and analysis, adding human consciousness to the experience of poverty and sexuality.

3.5 Trustworthiness and authenticity

In qualitative research, the pursuit of 'understanding' is more important than arriving at a final objective truth (Creswell, 2007). This complimented similar goals of postmodern

feminist approaches and sex work research (Sultana, 2007; Agustín, 2005; Weitzer, 2005). The follow procedures were used to enhance the overall trustworthiness and authenticity of the study (taken from Creswell 2007; Wahab & Sloan, 2004). First, spending ample time in the field strengthened my relationship with the research participants. Attempts to use local slang, attend different cultural events, and learn about popular culture provided opportunities to gain tacit knowledge that would verify and contextualize some of the responses. Second, triangulation of the sex workers' responses was achieved by contacting different sources, such as clients and experts. Third, I have stated that this research driven by the affirmation of the term 'sex work'. I have aimed to avoid victimizing sex workers as a social group or individuals, and treated sad stories and experiences as only parts to the whole. Positive and negative reflections as well as contradictions will be relayed in the data presentation in order to arrive at an authentic and rich case study.

THE CASE STUDY

Much of the research on sex workers in Uganda is based on the assumption that sex workers are a poor, marginalized, and stigmatized social group that either need to be granted their rights or rescued from abuse. Surprisingly, few have taken the time to comprehensively investigate the lived experiences of poverty for sex workers. This study presents the multidimensionality of sex worker poverty, illustrating the many different disadvantages sex workers face in Kampala in relation to their sexuality. All twelve of Chambers' dimensions were identified, plus three new dimensions relating to mobility, psychological ill-being, and generational poverty. While the findings reflect the complexity of poverty in both a conceptual and substantial sense, they are by no means representative of all sex workers in Kampala. Rather, this research is but a snapshot of experiences that may help to illuminate why sex workers need to be included in the national and global development agendas. Before discussing each of the dimensions that arose in this study, some contextual insights will be depicted. This includes background information into the dynamics of sex work at the locations involved in this study and a brief introduction to some of the sex workers.

4.1 The sex workers

All sex workers in this study were female, except for one transgendered sex worker who took on a predominantly feminine gender. The average age of the sex workers who participated in this study was 24 years, with an age range of 19-32 years old. All but one of the sex workers had migrated to Kampala City during their lifetime. The participants were culturally diverse, representing all five of the traditional Ugandan kingdoms, plus one who had migrated from Rwanda. All the sex workers considered themselves single at the time of their participation in the research, but half of them had been previously married. They had a medial of 2 children, with a range of 0-4 children. All sex workers were supporting other family members, often who were still in rural areas and usually their younger siblings or mothers.

All the participants shared a disadvantaged socio-economic background and it was one of the main factors that caused them to enter into sex work. This was explained clearly by one male lodge attendant who said, "These women don't come on the street because they like it. The are forced by their situation, for example family abuse, no education, or their husband has died" (Kabalagala FGD).

Two kinds of sex work were found in this study. The first was 'outdoor sex work' where sex workers would procure clients on the street. The second was 'indoor sex work' which took place in various locations, like bars, nightclubs, or lodges.[19] Sex workers in this study practiced mostly indoor sex work, but at one point or other practiced some outdoor sex work. Almost all the sex workers worked out of a regular lodge, either in Kabalagala or Kisenyi. In Kabalagala, sex workers worked mainly at night. They would spend most of their working hours in a lodge, waiting for clients and performing their sexual services in one of the rooms. Otherwise, a sex worker might occasionally try her luck in a bar or nightclub, or be asked to go with her client to a different place. Sometimes sex workers depended on others to procure clients, for example pimps, lodge attendants, and other male acquaintances in the community. In Kisenyi, sex workers worked more often during the day. Each sex worker would pay daily rent for her own room in a lodge and wait for clients in a common courtyard area with other sex workers. Only two sex workers worked regularly out of bars, restaurants, and nightclubs. After meeting a client, they would go to a lodge, hotel, or a client's home.

It is important to note two sex workers who had divergent profiles in relation to the entire study group. Firstly, IDI 4 was sex worker during her attendance at secondary school where she turned sex into a commercial activity in order to raise funds for her school fees and living expenses. Secondly, IDI 3 is a transgendered sex worker who was convinced there was no other job that would accept her besides sex work.

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[19] Additionally, sex workers would sometimes work from home, where clients would contact them through mobile phone. This could constitute a third kind of sex work, but it was not predominant nor relevant for the analysis.

4.2 Dimensions of poverty according to the WPD

Insecurities

The concrete descriptions of insecurities by sex workers are all related to their work life. First, there was a high incidence of theft reported by all sex workers, where clients will either steal a sex worker's belongings during or after a transaction or refuse to pay after sexual services have been performed.

> Yes, they're all thieves. They take your money, phone necklaces. You have to watch them dress so they don't take your things after the visit. (IDI 6)

> They can steal your phone, your shoes, and your money. At times, he will pay you, but then says give me back the money once you're finished [having sex]. Nothing can be done. You just cry. (IDI 5)

Second, sex workers often talked about the problem of 'live sex' with clients – a term used to described sex without a condom. This was a common issue, likely heightened by the fact that sex workers could demand more payment for having sex without a condom. However, clients often forced live sex upon a sex worker through violent means, persistent persuasion, or secretly removing the condom during the sex act. Additionally, the sex workers spoke more adamantly about using condoms with clients, but were less rigid about condom use when it came to their boyfriends. Whether or not the sex worker would consent to have sex without a condom, they were aware of the risks involved.

> You can get STDs and pregnancy. You might then suffer from an abortion you have to pay for and it might go wrong. So you might die. Then if you keep the baby, you will not know the father and you have to support the baby yourself. (FGD 3)

Third, violence was a serious concern and unfortunately a shared experience by all sex workers.[20] This violence was both physical and sexual:

> There are times when they force you to have live sex, they rape you, they use a painful style on you. (IDI 2)

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[20] Sex workers also were threatened by fellow colleagues – this will be discussed later in the section on social relations.

> You ask for money before the service and he says 'no, I'll give after'. So you do it. Then when you ask, he says he has none. If you insist, he slaps or strangles you. (FGD 3)

> I got a client who wanted to force me to have live sex, and another wanted to remove the condom. (IDI 7)

The threat of violence also implied sex workers faced intimidation from clients.

What is most unfortunate is that many sex workers said they were most afraid of policemen and soldiers – those who legally supposed to protect them against danger and harm. Furthermore, the fear of policemen was strengthened through the experience of being arrested. These experiences were especially traumatic and striking due to the human rights abuse of a state actor against a citizen.

> There was once a policeman who used to patrol at night. He wanted to have sex with me for free and I refused. So when I refused, he persisted. Finally one night he arrested me and accused me of being indecent because I was wearing a short skirt and an open back top. I stayed at the prison for three days. It was too cold, and I had nothing to cover myself with. I had no shower. In the mornings, the policemen would tell me to mop. As I tried to cover myself by pulling my skirt down, the policemen ordered me to continue mopping, saying that if I wanted to be in short skirt, that I should mop with my knickers for everyone to see… This memory hurts me the worst because this is the time that caused my neighbours to find out I was a sex worker. They had never seen me in such clothes. After three days in the prison cells, I was also dirty and smelly. So when I was released, I had to walk home in this state. The entire neighbourhood came to see and laugh at me. I wished the law allowed me to be released at night, but they only release us during the day. (IDI 1)

In total, three sex workers had been arrested in their lifetime for being 'idle and disorderly', yet none had ever had a fair trial.

One final note, many sex workers felt that sex work was unsafe job, but it had the potential to be safe under the right circumstances.

Physical ill-being

Sex workers did not disclose much information in relation to their sexual health – only one disclosed her HIV-positive status. However, male clients confirmed the general trend of men demanding live sex, which increased the sex worker's risk of contracting an STI. Men's conception was that condoms ruined the 'sweetness of sex': "When you get her in live sex,

it's a good taste, and with a condom, it's not a good taste." (FGD 6) In addition, physical ill-being was frequently implied when the sex workers spoke of violent experiences with clients and other sex workers.

Otherwise, sex workers spoke of physical exhaustion in relation to their work, which was exacerbated when they felt they really needed the money to pay for an upcoming expense. A researcher from the Ministry of Public Health agreed with this, saying that based on his contact with sex workers, "They don't get a rest from sex. They accelerate so much. They run down the machine [ie. their body], and it suffers from wear and tear". In the end, when asked whether or not they felt healthy, most replied positively and did not complain about any sickness or pain.

Places of the poor

Both sex worker groups in Kabalagala and Kisenyi were working in slum areas, although Kabalagala was physically more developed than Kisenyi.[21] Data collection in Kabalagala took place on an unpaved side road, right off the main paved road where many bars, restaurants and public transport were located. The proximity to the main road meant that this area was more accessible for visitors and vehicles. During my visits, it was difficult to find running water and clean toilets. Additionally, I experienced many power black outs, especially during the evening.

However, during the research, notable improvements had been made to the Kabalagala lodge where most data collection took place. On the first visit, the floors of the rooms were packed dirt, the walls had not been painted, and some rooms were split by a wooden separator so that there was more space for business. On the last visit, the floors were covered with linoleum, walls had been painted, and new rooms had been added. The lodge had also improved its management system by implementing rules and regulations. Many

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[21] A visual picture of both Kabalagala and Kisenyi is useful for this particular section, however photographs were not taken as part of the research in the effort to respect participant's safety and confidentiality. There are various pictures of these areas on the Internet.

clients accused sex workers of stealing their belongings during their visits and this led to many arguments. Both the client and sex worker were considered suspects: sex workers were thought of as a petty criminals but their clients were known to be just as likely to steal or be untrustworthy. To address this reoccurring problem, a sign had been posted instructing clients to leave their belongings with the lodge attendant and collect them after his visit. Otherwise, the lodge would not be responsible for any loss of items.

In comparison, Kisenyi lacked much more infrastructure and resembled a typical slum area. Data collection took place deep in the slum area, where there were no paved roads, congested and poorly-built settlements, insufficient drainage systems, and no clean latrine areas. Large pools of stagnant water and piles of rubbish were attracting many insects posing both environmental and health hazards. Due to the overcrowding and narrow passageways, public transport could not easily access these areas. While Kisenyi sex workers had the luxury of their own work rooms, these rooms were not well lit or ventilated. In the end, what was most critical to the Kisenyi sex workers in terms of their work area was tenure insecurity: "Soon the place will be demolished – we don't know where we'll go next" (FGD 6).

Nonetheless, notoriety of the Kisenyi slum has led to increased development interventions in the area. During my research, I observed various infrastructure developments, such as the construction of more public toilets, and health projects, such as the distribution of health pamphlets and condoms. Secondary literature makes more reference to Kisenyi than Kabalagala, particularly in terms of sexual health and sex work research.

Finally, sex workers also referred to unsafe locations where a client might take them. Being taken to dark isolated, and walled areas, in and outside of Kamapala increased the sex worker's vulnerability since 1) she was less able to escape from her client he became violent and 2) she would be convinced to have (unsafe) sex in exchange for transport back to her home or work area.

Poverty of time

Having little or no time was apparent in the decision to use condoms. During one visit in Kabalagala, I observed sex workers grabbing a few condoms before leading their clients to an available room. The women explained that they usually tried to bring three condoms per client, so that if one broke they could quickly grab another. This was done in order to prevent the opportunity for the client to complain about how condoms were a nuisance because they took too much time to put on.

Time was an important factor in being successful at work. On the one hand, the faster they could satisfy a client, the better their reputation and skills. This would help to secure more clients, and therefore more income. On the other hand, clients criticized sex workers who didn't spend enough time on them. This would frustrate them, causing them to complain and attempt to pay less for the transaction. Either way, issue of time put considerable pressure on the sex worker. In addition, some reflected on the difficulties encountered with the timing of their menstrual cycle and how it interfered with their work: "Especially when you have your period and you're forced to still work for money. I wish that my periods would stop" (IDI 7). The flow of income was disrupted since some sex workers did not want to work during their periods, and clients often did not want to have sex when a sex worker was menstruating.

Material poverty

Sex workers lamented that it was specifically due to their lack of capital and resources to start or run other businesses that they engaged in sex work. The participants explained sex work required less resources, such as time, capital, and/or start-up funds. However, most sex workers' overall opinion of their lifestyle was positive because it satisfied their economic needs. Sex work generated the highest income in order for the participants to take care of themselves and their dependents:

> With sex work, you [get] money every day. Even if one client robs you, at least the other client will pay you. You can never starve of hunger, at least there is food every day. (IDI 1)

> My life has changed. I can buy clothes, I can buy food. I can even buy sugar to take back to my aunts and they can treat me better. Money has changed everything. (FGD 1)
>
> As a street sex worker, I am able to take care of myself and my baby. (FGD 1)
>
> We're eating meat right now – we can eat meat daily![22] (FGD 2)

However, sex workers were challenged by low earnings and price variability. None of the sex workers had a flat price; their final price depended on their and the client's bargaining power and skills. Those sex workers who worked regularly out of a lodge said that the price was low due to the number of other sex workers that were willing to accept low prices. For short visits at these lodges, the price for sex would be approximately 2000-3000 Shillings (Sh).[23] Sex workers who procured clients in bars and night clubs were able to charge 5000-7000 Sh for a short visit, and 30,000-50,000 Sh for a long visit (usually lasting the whole night).

Seasonal dimensions

Seasonality affected clients spending habits, which changed throughout the year. This caused the flow of income for sex workers to be routinely unreliable. When asked what times of the year were best for business, the participants replied:

> Public holidays like Christmas, Easter. And when [the football teams of] Arsenal and Manchester play. At the finals, when one wins, the supporters all come to the streets… to celebrate. There's also pay day: there's in between, like 15th [of the month] when [workers] get a salary advance, and then at the end of the month. (IDI 1)
>
> … in holiday if you got a client he usually has more money. (IDI 7)

However, these factors were not necessarily absolute for all sex workers. Holiday times were difficult for IDI 4: "When it was holiday it was worse because there are many other girls out. So when its school time, we had less competition and more clients."

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[22] Meat was expensive in Kampala, therefore being able to eat it implied one was wealthy and high class.

[23] The exchange rate at the time of research was approximately 2000 Sh for 1 USD.

In contrast, business was slow when children's school fees were due. Many clients had children or were caring for other young dependents. Having to pay for children's tuition meant clients had little extra money to spend on hiring sex workers. School fees also hampered various employers in the sex industry, for example bar owners who employed sex workers as waitresses did not have sufficient funds to pay salaries. In addition, the tropical rains still affected sex workers in that clients were less likely to come out when it was raining because of the wet and cold: "You can stay [to work] for a short time like when it rains and its very cold. You say let me go back and rest, there's no money" (IDI 1).

Social relations

Entry into sex work was related to presiding gender inequality and essentialist notions of sexuality. Clients directly associated a women's entry into sex work with presumed gender roles and behaviours:

> Well, it is like this. First, women cannot drive a boda boda. I can drive a boda boda. I can go to work at the mechanics. I can build. Women cannot. There are some jobs that women cannot do. So she chooses to do [sex work] and offer their bodies. Second, some women are like that. They do it for pleasure. Some women like to have many men. She is used to that. Sometimes it is the situation and sometimes it is the nature. (FGD 6)

Sex workers also related back to presiding gender norms to explain how life was difficult for them no matter what because they were women. For example, IDI 5 recounted how her friend convinced her to join sex work because no matter what, men would use her and take advantage of her – at least she should earn some money for it.

Sex workers felt condemned by the overall population, which pressured them to hide their identity from their family members and village community, as well as their immediate neighbours in Kampala: "Keep it a secret because you can lose friends if they know you are a sex worker, like friends at church, your neighbours. Because once you are a sex worker no one likes to associate with a sex worker" (IDI 1).[24] In regards to neighbours, many

[24] Participants were asked if their religious communities excluded them. These responses were not included in the data presentation because many of the participants said they did not attend religious services. Those that did regularly visit places of worship had kept their sex worker identity secret so far.

respondents felt it was their appearance that would give them away. Some respondents explained that they would use a long wrap cloth to hide their mini-skirts when going to work.[25] I observed this practice during my visits in Kisenyi, when one sex worker covered her mini-skirt as she guided us through the different parts of the slum. Similarly, IDI 7 explained that she often had to wash and hang her work outfits inside her house so no one would be able to see that she had such clothes. Nevertheless, most of the respondents felt that their neighbours and family members had already guessed or found out. There were varied reactions towards sex workers after their identity was exposed:

> I didn't trust many other people. I didn't trust other students... We didn't want them to come to our room because they would reveal to everyone what we were doing and they would start to gossip. (IDI 4)
>
> Some are good, some are bad. The ones that are good to me usually have other intentions - like they want to get money out of me for certain things. (IDI 2)
>
> Now they hate me. (IDI 3)
>
> [My family] don't treat me differently because I'm the one who always has financially supported them. They were always wondering where I got the money. But I wish they didn't know… My neighbours know because they see me going out at night. But I don't associate with them so much so I don't care. (IDI 5)

The endeavour of having to keep their sex worker identity hidden shows how sex workers are 'separated' from society, and that their communities inherently lack social cohesion.

Unfortunately, even though sex workers shared the same disadvantages, there was apparent animosity within the sex worker community itself. Many respondents had been betrayed by fellow sex workers in the past, causing them to have a low opinion of all those involved in the sex industry. For example, IDI 5 was sure that it was jealous colleague who had sent a man to attack her one night with chloroform, she was unconscious for that night and unable to work for two days afterwards. In another example, IDI 1 was angry with other sex workers for not warning her about a violent client, who had forced a stick up their colleague's vagina. Ultimately, these kinds of experiences caused some sex workers to have a strict 'trust no one' policy in their work life.

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[25] The miniskirt was the 'uniform' for sex workers.

> I trust no one. I don't trust clients, even my colleagues, even lodge attendants I don't trust… Other sex workers can become jealous. And with lodge attendants if he sees that my client has given me a lot of money he also wants some. (IDI 7)

> [Sex workers are] not good to each other. We were three in one group, but there were other girls from the hostel. We wouldn't even share clothes. There was a big gap between us, especially when it came to [getting] clients. Also there were ethnic differences between us... (IDI 4)

> I don't trust sex workers. They are not trustworthy. There is always jealous, and they can kill you... The girls look at you badly, they are not your friends, they are your competition. But we should not make it personal, it is just business... (IDI 2)

Nonetheless, there were still some positive responses as some participants offered more supportive images of the relationships within the sex work community:

> We can have a small fight and then get over it. We just quarrel like sisters then settle it very fast (FGD 6).

> I trusted my friends. We collaborated together. We slept in one room at the hostel. I trusted this one bouncer, Amos, he would protect us. We would tell him when we were around and he'd help us get clients and watch out for us. He was very big and he would protect us. Sometimes we used to tip him. (IDI 4)

Lack of education/capabilities

Sex workers lamented that it was specifically due to their lack of education that they little employment options besides sex work. Sex work was the best out of extremely limited options for the participants. Most participants had only attained an education level up to Senior 1, with one never having received any formal education, and two passing their O-levels, and IDI 4 attending some post-secondary education. The capabilities and skills gained through IDI 4's education was reflected in many of her responses: she had verbal fluency in English, was more articulate in answering questions and communicating her reflections. Additionally, her education level was related to her higher class level in comparison to the rest of the group, which generally allowed her to avoid risky working areas and vulnerable situations since she targeted a more upscale clientele and received better safety information.

The sex workers repeatedly asked me to secure them an English teacher. They explained that this would help them negotiate better with more clients; some clients did not speak the same language as them, making it difficult to arrange a final price and service. Some sex workers wanted learn English so that they could meet mzungu clients who were thought to treat them more kindly, buy them gifts and food, and pay better rates for sexual services.

Few sex workers had received some formal training in other income-generating skills. Two sex workers had been trained in typically feminine skills such as tailoring and hairdressing. Conversely, one sex worker had enrolled in the army and received military training. Through the army, she hoped to get the opportunity to travel to different countries and secure a passport in the process. After serving in the army, she would be move to a 'richer' country and be a sex worker there. Having a passport proved valuable, as this particular sex worker was able to travel to South Africa for a sex workers' conference on human rights.

Ascribed and legal inferiority

As presented earlier, sex workers are legally disadvantaged due to the criminalization of "prostitution" in the Ugandan Penal Code. However, research participants put more emphasis on the ascribed social inferiority that comes with being a sex worker. According to sex workers, the general population had very low opinions of sex work:

> They think that a sex worker is someone who is stupid. (FGD 3)
>
> They think its miserable, dirty, immoral, illegal, and uncultural. (IDI 4)
>
> They ask 'is this person really normal, or not normal?' They think you are not normal. Even the people who sell food and tea to us sometimes say they won't serve us because [they think] we'll dirty their plates. (IDI 7)

This negative perception was confirmed by the common stereotypes that arose in discussions with clients.

> By the way, they are harsh! Those working in the night have bad manners. They use opium, alcohol, and marijuana. And they are ready to fight and quarrel with you. (FGD 6)
>
> [Sex workers] are one of the causes of disease. (FGD 6)

> They have a problem of never being satisfied – they are only interested in having sex. (FGD 6)

As a conceptual system, gender had a governing influence in how men perceived sex work as not actually being work.

> After the service, he refuses to pay, saying 'What have you done? What should I pay you for?' If you persist, he will slap you. (FGD 6)

> One time, [a client] took me outside Kampala... After having sex with me, he left me in the lodge with no money. He said that's what sex workers deserve for selling something that is worth nothing. (FGD 3)

Many of the experts had something to say about this particular belief and how it was related to unequal sexual relations between women and men. Representatives of the National Association of Women's Organizations in Uganda (NAWOU) explained that both culturally and historically, "Women are seen as providing sex. Women are seen as property. Even in the past, if a visitor came [to Uganda], he was supposed to have available women during his visit. Men are supposed to be comforted, treated well. Women are seen as an item for pleasure". Other experts confirmed that it was a challenge to conceive sex work as a real profession since it went against both traditional morals and the legal ruling.

Lack of political clout

Due to their legal and ascribed inferiority, sex workers had weak political influence in their communities. During the research, a local council meeting was to be held in Kabalagala. Many of the research participants were fearful to attend the meeting since they believed that policemen surprise them at the meeting to arrest them and they worried that their would be a majority ruling by Kabalagala residents to expel sex workers from the neighborhood. In both scenarios, sex workers felt they would not have enough power to prevent their livelihoods from being disrupted. The inferior status of a sex worker was often inescapable, even if they had become financially successful: "Even if you are rich and you offer money [to your community], no one will respect you"(FGD 4). Similarly, "If you raise your hand in the church or village meetings, they are like 'she's a sex worker what does she know?' I have no right to address myself as a sex worker to the public. Because its illegal" (IDI 6).

Fortunately, many of the experts contacted for this study recognized that society was becoming increasingly split around the issue of sex work. It was apparent that wider society and groups of elites are gradually able to talk more neutrally about sex work, at least in practical terms.

> I have been pleasantly surprised that people are speaking more positively towards legalization, especially in government circles. For example, the former VP, First Lady, Deputy Speaker… have all agreed that we need to stop putting our heads in the sand and legalize sex work. Even the Muslim Minister of Gender argued that if there was no demand, there would be no supply – it is about economic facts. So generally, people have become more realistic. (SSI, Tamale)

Lack of information

Sex workers lacked information in two key areas: health and human rights. Kisenyi sex workers spoke of various health campaigns in their area but complained about the side effects of certain health products that had been marketed during these campaigns. Moreover, I saw that many of the condoms that had been disseminated during these campaigns were already expired and sex workers were unaware that they should not be used past their expiration date. Sex workers said they obtained information about their physical health through life experiences, whenever they happened to visit the hospital. However, most of these visits were not for problems related to their sexual health and they were disappointed not to have more ways to learn about health problems that were relevant to their particular lifestyle, "There is no where you can really learn. It's only been recently that they have health programs on the radio. And they cannot talk about sex!" (IDI 4) The researcher from the Ministry of Public Health agreed, "Sex workers don't have enough health information. They don't when and how to treat themselves. They don't know about body hygiene."

The hesitation, need for clarification, and lack of responses around the issue of human rights indicated that sex workers were generally unaware of their rights. While they felt confident about the concept of human rights, they did not know what these rights were or how to claim or defend them. One sex worker related the overall lack of information around rights to the Ugandan government, "In Uganda, people only know about the right to vote because

this is the only one the politicians want [you to know about]" (FGD 2). Lastly, there was all round confusion on whether the law criminalizing sex work actually existed, since they had only heard of sex workers being arrested on charges of being 'idle and disorderly'.

Institutions and access

Sex worker identity prevented many of the respondents from accessing key institutions such as health care centres and police services. They felt they could visit hospitals only as 'regular' women, but not as sex workers, "When you go, you don't need to tell them you're a SW. Just tell them you're like any other person" (FGD 4). Otherwise, they felt apprehensive about visiting hospitals as sex workers, often arguing that their livelihood should be kept a secret from health care professionals in order to avoid mistreatment and abuse.

> I'm not sure [how they would treat me], because I've never gone in relation to my work. But I'd be nervous. (IDI 5)

> Government hospitals are bad, they won't take care of you. They will abuse you, shout at you if you ask for help or a question. Whether or not you are a sex worker, its bad. But for sex workers its worse, they'll gossip about you (FGD 1)

> If they know then no one will ever treat you. They can't treat you like a human being. For a doctor to touch you… they have to wear gloves first because he thinks you are dirty and has all the diseases with you. (IDI 2)

> You can tell the Doctor because it is important for them to give you good treatment. But you should go to a far away hospital where they don't know who you are and will not tell your neighbours. (FGD 5)

In total, there was distrust of health care professionals. However, most of the sex workers recognized the need to be able to talk about their health in relation to their work so that the doctors could give them appropriate advice and treatment.

As a direct consequence of their legal inferiority, sex workers were unable to enjoy many civil rights and entitlements in terms of police protection and legal recourse. This is a serious problem in cases of theft, physical violence, and rape. All sex workers in this study had never gone to the police to report a crime that was committed against them in relation to their work. When asked why, they replied:

> I've never gone to report a case because SWs are not allowed to go to the police. (IDI 5)

> I would never go to the police. Never. They won't listen to you. As soon as they find out you're a malaya, they will laugh at you. (IDI 2)
>
> I've never reported anything to the police. I can't trust the police after my experience. The police mistreat me because of my gender status and also because I'm a sex worker. (IDI 3)[26]
>
> Because what they do is embarrass you instead of helping. They enjoy listening and laughing at you. They don't care. (FGD 3)

There was also some references made to corruption, where sex workers suggested that in order to get a policeman's help they would have to offer them money or free and/or live sex.

A final point for this section is that all sex workers in the study advocated that sex work be more accepted, even legalized. They felt that this was the best way to secure better access to resources and services.

4.3 New dimensions

Mobility

The first new dimension that arose in this study is mobility, or rather immobility. Sex workers frequently described instances where their regular movements around town were restricted or altered:

> You can't take any boda. Sometimes he can follow you home and demand sex. (FGD 2)
>
> Sometimes after a club, you feel embarrassed of being labelled when you were walking home. So you avoided some areas. (IDI 4)
>
> It affects me because you can move in a place and you never knows if anyone knows who or what you are. You feel small. (IDI 7)

These problems arose in direct consequence to their inferior status as sex workers.

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[26] This was said in reference to the experience of being arrested for being transgendered. B was stripped naked at the police station and verbally abused by many different officers.

Psychological ill-being

Throughout the research, sex workers often shared feelings of sadness, happiness, pride, and shame. I felt it significant to include these emotions that constantly reminded me of the real human experience of poverty. Some of the negative feelings showed how sex work was psychologically isolating:

> No love in this business. There might be a client who says he loves you, and then wants live sex. So you have to not love, use condoms, behave well, and trust no one. (IDI 6)

> They say you can never fall in love if you are a sex worker. You will never find the one you want, no one will respect you and you'll get no love. (FGD 4)

> Every time we passed they would whisper. So in fact we lived in our own world. (IDI 4)

> It hurts that everyone just wants you for your vagina. (FGD 1)

In addition, many sex workers said they were most stressed and sad when they were not able to earn enough money to buy food for themselves and their children. When asked how they coped with bad experiences, such as violence, theft, or rape, some mentioned all they could do was go home and cry. However, there were still many expressions of joy, self-esteem, and self-respect, mostly in relation to their independence and success, but also the nature of their work.

> We feel proud because we are looking after ourselves (FGD 2).

> I feel powerful because other women can go with just two men, and she might die [from disease, violence, and/or neglect]. But I have been with many men and I have survived. Some women complain about having too much sex with one person. But I am the one who is able to have sex with like twenty! (IDI 6)

> You are popular, you get to socialize with people, meet different cultures, you might even get a chance to travel. It can be a good job. (IDI 3)

> Our kids are more healthy than those children of people with other jobs! (FGD 5)

When asked whether they felt happy with their lives, many sex workers took time to weigh up the pros and cons, and eventually responded positively since they felt a sense of accomplishment in being able to provide for themselves and their children.

Additionally, there were mixed perceptions of sex and men, even after having gone through negative experiences. Some expressed pleasure, while others renounced men and sex for love all together.

> I learned many tricks and styles in the bedroom. So when I got a man and he would let me take control, I felt great. (FGD 4)

> Sex is pleasure, people enjoy it. Even sex workers can enjoy it - when you get a good client. In order to have pleasure, I have to wait for the man to be able to give me pleasure. I don't do it myself. (IDI 2)

> Sex is a bad way of earning a living, and it's not really important for life. (IDI 3)

> I no longer enjoy [sex], it just money at the moment. I don't have a boyfriend right now - they're all liars. (IDI 5)

Overall, these responses demonstrate the different levels of resilience among sex workers.

Generational poverty

The final new dimension that was ascertained in this study was the risk of ascribed inferiority of a sex worker being passed down to their children. Some sex workers indicated they were worried that their children would suffer abuse and discrimination at school if students, teachers, and parents found out how their mother was earning a living.

> Even sex worker's children are discriminated at school. Once they know, they're like 'your mother is a malaya!' Maybe if the child is in a short skirt, and they're like 'Yeah she's dressed like that because her mother is a malaya'. It's not good, that's why you have to keep it a secret. (IDI 1)

To what extent their mother's low social status would affect a child in the future would have to be determined in a follow-up study. Nevertheless, if a child is experiencing abuse at school, this could have damaging psychological effects.

4.4 Identifying synergies and relationships

This section attempts to draw out the synergies and relationships between the different dimensions of sex worker poverty. It does include all the connections implied in the previous section, and it is not exhaustive since there are too many connections to be

distinguished within the limits of this research. Essentially, this analysis seeks to demonstrate the diverse interactions between dimensions of poverty, specifically in relation to sexuality.

The situation of sex work must be analyzed against the unequal gender terrain in Uganda, where men have a superior status to women and transgenders (Tamale, 2008a; 2008b). Having a feminine identity in a traditional patriarchal society means that **education** and employment opportunities would be limited (MoF, 2006). Ugandan women and girls were expected to be good wives and mothers, and therefore not encouraged or supported to achieve high levels of education or professional employment (Kisubi, 2008; Tamale, 2004). As single women who had migrated to Kampala city, the research participants had very little financial wealth and **capabilities**, and did not have a father or husband to care for them. In regards to the transgendered participant, her visual appearance and behaviour was a daily visible challenge to strict gender norms. The inescapable backlash to her transgendered identity made it even more difficult to find work. Whether the participants wanted their independence or not, all were forced into a situation where they had to be self-reliant.

In comparison to other work, sex work provided the participants the quickest and easiest way to earn the money they needed to obtain their basic needs. It made economic sense to them, since they had the 'goods' and 'capital' to enter the trade, that is, they had a body, the time, and knowledge of sexual services required for the job: "Once you shower and put on your clothes, you can't fail to get a client" (IDI 2). In sum, the social and economic poverty that the participants had grown up in as children and were faced with as adults led them to use their sexuality for commercial purposes (Gyseles, Pool, & Nnalusiba, 2002). Sex work provided the means to lessen their **material poverty**, broadly speaking, on a day-to-day basis. However, Seasonal dimensions and the poverty of time could also create economic insecurity, since these dimensions disrupted or lessened sex worker's flow of income. This in turn would have an effect on sex worker's material poverty.

However, sex work is a socially and legally unacceptable practice in Uganda, despite the apparent demand for it. These sex acts were considered 'immoral', mostly (if not completely) on the part of the woman (Tamale, 2008). Solome Nakaweesi Kimbugwe, the Executive

Director of Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA), argued that the condemnation of sex work(ers) was intrinsically a reaction to perceived threat to men's control of female sexuality:

> I once met a peasant aunt who said, 'I wish I was a sex worker' and when she was asked why, she said 'because it means I decide who I give my body to. I control how, to who and why I give my body'. It is a very frightening idea [to the patriarchal system] because women have never had the power to make such choices/decisions… sex workers have power, they get to negotiate their time, their body, their emotions, their money, their sex.

The choice to take on the sexuality of a sex worker was therefore accompanied with **legal and ascribed inferiority**. This came on top of the already existing inferiority of being women or transgender. As a result of these social inequalities, sex workers were likely to face increased **insecurities** in their work.

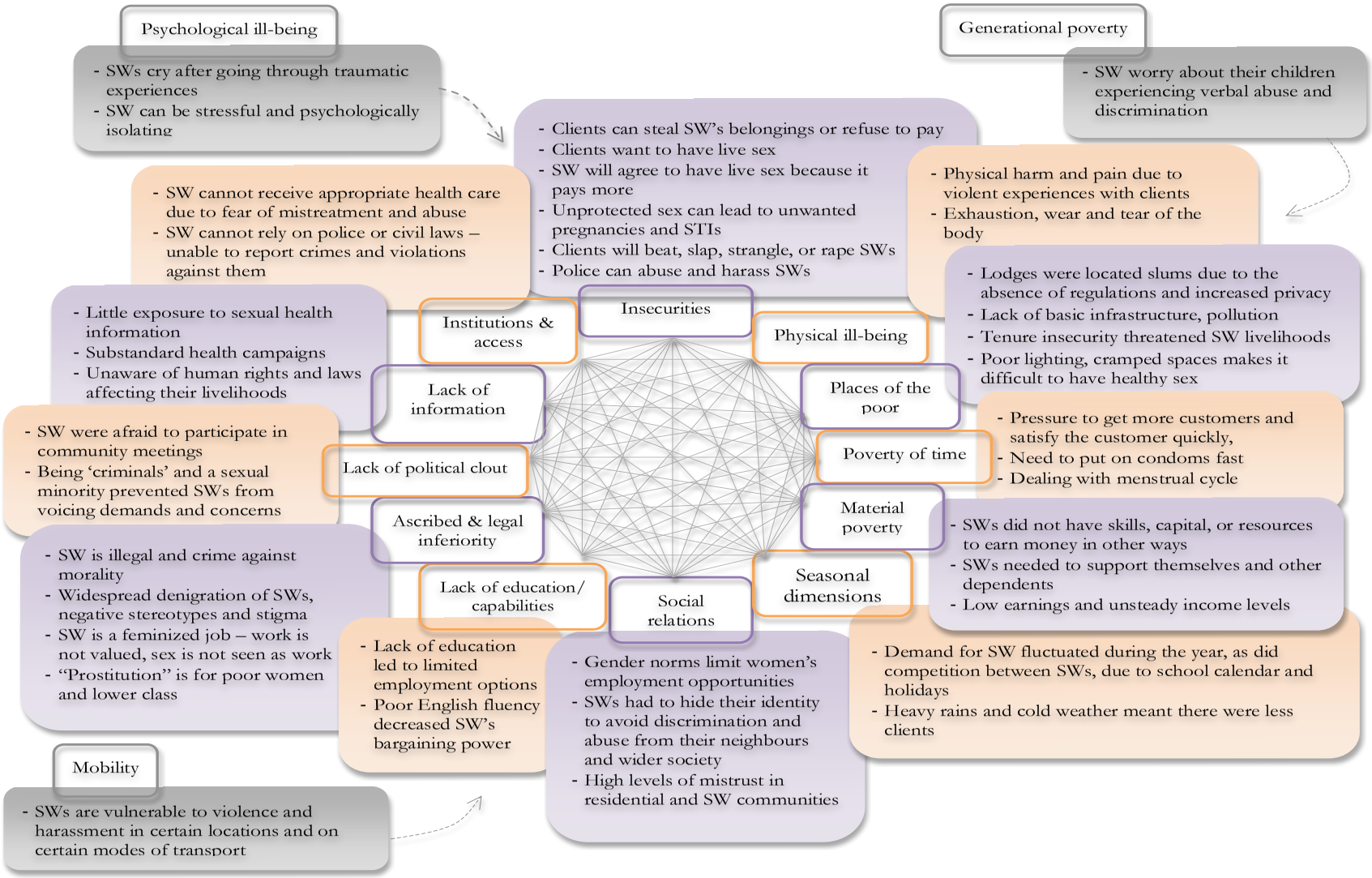
Insecurities included sexual and **physical health** risks and were directly related to men's sexual behaviour and unequal power relations. In the past and present, sexual norms for men permitted and encouraged promiscuity and virility (Brawley, 2006). Yet in a time of HIV/AIDS and other STIs, sexual health interventions were not sufficiently promoting the use of condoms (Råssjö, Mirembe, & Darj, 2006), and men still avoided using them with sex workers due their greater bargaining power as men and customers. Having unprotected sex meant sex workers were vulnerable to contracting and transferring STIs as well as becoming pregnant. The likelihood of engaging in risky behaviour was heightened by the **general lack of sexual health information**, and the consequences of this behaviour were exacerbated by the poor access to health institutions and services.

In addition, sex workers were vulnerable to widespread violence committed against them as sex workers and women/transgender. The threat of violence caused restrictions on **movement**. This situation is caused by the persistent gender codes that permitted male violence against women (Karamagi et al., 2006), and exacerbated by the fact that sex workers had no **access** to legal recourse. Wider society would also likely ignore violence against sex workers since they perceived sex workers as criminals. This was most grave in the incidences of violence, harassment, and abuse involving the police. Furthermore, as state actors, violence against sex workers committed by the police can be defined as concrete human rights violations. The lack of human rights awareness and **political clout** also prevented sex workers from speaking out against this abuse of power.

Negative perceptions of sex workers had an impact on **social relations**, when sex workers felt the need to keep their sex worker identity a secret. This may explain why most sex worker's chose to work out of a regular bar since they did not want to risk being seen by people they knew. Additionally, choosing to work in slum areas may reinforce Ssewakiryanga's (2005) argument that slums were a **place** that guaranteed privacy as well as freedom since others living or working there were also engaging in low valued and informal employment. Hiding their identity was also the sex worker's way of preventing the **generational** transfer of their low status on to their children. The stress of keeping their identity a secret, plus dealing with all other dimensions of poverty, had **psychological** ramifications that contributed to the sex workers feelings of sadness, loneliness, and shame.

In total, economic poverty played a major role in leading an individual to choose sex work as an income-generating activity. However, the sexuality of women and men provided the foundation and impetus for the phenomenon of commercial sex. It was mostly after becoming a sex worker that sexuality began to contribute to an individual's poverty. This was caused primarily by the configuration of sexual norms that denigrated sex work(ers). Based on all the dimensions of poverty and their identifiable synergies, Chambers' original WPD was adapted to demonstrate the sex worker's experience of poverty in relation to sexuality.

Figure 3. Illustration of sex workers' web of poverty's disadvantages



CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of findings

This study has explored the poverty of sex workers by locating the multiple interactions between sexuality and poverty. Sexuality in this study was conceived in terms of the practice of sex work, and the behaviours, dynamics, and structures that create and sustain it. Additionally, sexuality was envisaged alongside other social systems, primarily gender. It found the ways in which low educational levels and economic poverty was a contributing factor in the decision to engage in sex work since provided a way of relieving material poverty. However, men's socially encouraged sex drives and women's perceived ability in satisfying sexual needs also supported this decision. Yet the stratification of sexuality condemned the act of selling sex, and as a result, sex worker's sexual identity caused many other dimensions of poverty, particularly legal inferiority, weak political clout, poor access to institutions, mobility, insecurity, physical ill-being, psychological ill-being, and social relations. In addition, other circumstances affected the configuration of sex work and experience of poverty, such as the places in which sex work took place, the poverty of time in sexual transactions, seasonality fluctuations in demand, and a general lack of health and rights information. These points of interaction act as singular images that collectively demonstrate the crucial relationship between sexuality and poverty.

5.2 Concluding remarks and implications

To end this narrative of the interactive nature of sexuality and poverty and how it causes disadvantages for sex workers, I want to clarify what this study is *not* about. First, it is not about forced prostitution or trafficking in any way. The experiences and problems of individuals who have been abducted and physically enslaved for the commercial sex trade are far beyond the theoretical, methodological, and ethical realm of this particular study. I feel personally motivated to make this point, as I have faced criticism from peers who accused me of not being a 'real' feminist, since they believed I was supporting the patriarchal system that 'forced' women to succumb to masculine sexual power by selling their bodies. I understand this concern, and I recognize violence and structural inequality when it occurs, but the feelings of pride, self-respect, and empowerment that arose in this study should be

given voice and respect. Second, this study is not a quantitative measure of poverty. Instead, it is a qualitative presentation of poverty's idiosyncrasies, particular to the case of sex workers in Kampala. The attitudes, values, and emotions that came up during the research added strength and meaning to the human reality of poverty.

The implications of this study can be grouped into two groups. First, this study was base-line research, and therefore further investigation of sex work and the individuals and practices involved in sex work it should follow. Further research could make up for the limitations of qualitative studies by adding more quantitative or combined analysis to the sex work research frontier. This would inherently address the overall lack of quantitative research in informal sectors of society. In the pursuit of accuracy and authenticity, the data produced by this research should include sex workers' opinions, and values, as well as their participation. This should influence and inform the second group of implications that include development interventions and policy formulation. Sex workers are human beings and have the right to development. They should not be denied civil liberties, rights, and protections. Development agencies and government institutions should be concerned with the persisting inequalities and disadvantages that hinder sex workers from enjoying a full quality of life.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

No.	Date	Group description	Participants	Topic
1	13 Oct 2008	FGD 1 Kabalagala	- 1 transgender indoor-based sex worker - 8 female indoor-based sex workers	Advantages & disadvantages of sex work
2	14 Oct 2008	FGD 2 Kisenyi	- 7 female indoor-based sex workers	Advantages & disadvantages of sex work
3	29 Jan 2009	FGD 3 Kabalagala	- 5 female indoor-based sex workers - 1 female outdoor-based sex worker - 1 male lodge attendant	Dynamics and conditions of sex work
4	16 Feb 2009	FGD 4 Kisenyi and Kabalagala	- 2 female indoor-based sex workers - 2 female indoor-based sex workers - 2 former indoor-based sex workers	Gender-based violence
5	20 Feb 2009	FGD 5 Kisenyi	- 7 female indoor-based sex workers	Dynamics and conditions of sex work
6	25 Feb 2009	FGD 6 Makindye	- 7 male clients/friends of clients	Perceptions and attitudes of sex work and sex workers

APPENDIX 2: GUIDELINES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Objective/Topic

The primary objective of these focus group discussions (FGDs) is to gain knowledge and understanding about the main research concepts and themes. These FGDs have the following objectives:

- To discuss how sex workers, sex work managers, and their clients conceptualize sex work
- To talk about the advantages and disadvantages of sex work

Group selection

Sex worker groups were approached based on their working relationship with the staff from my host organization, WONETHA – Women's Organization Networking for Human Rights Advocacy. Daisy Nakato and Macklean Kyomya acted as gatekeepers to the sex work community and were wary of approaching only those who already had a familiar and friendly relationship with them.

Client groups were identified through a working relationship I had with my boda-boda driver who became curious about my research topic. He enthusiastically offered his ideas and opinions, mentioning the different times he had taken his own customers to different red light districts. He suggested speaking to his fellow boda-boda drivers who had similar experiences and also were clients themselves of sex workers.

Logistics and recording

Firstly, in order to organize a focus group my research assistant and I visited the target areas a few times. These visits were also important in earning the permission for us to hold a meeting in the respective lodge or area. Secondly, for sex worker groups in Kabalagala, we made sure to schedule FGDs during working hours when business was slow, usually Tuesday or Wednesday evenings so that the participants were rested from the weekend, which are their busiest work days. In Kisenyi, participants worked during the day, and asked us to schedule FGDs before or after lunch hours when business was likely to pick up from men taking their lunch breaks. It was necessary to schedule meetings during working hours so that participants were not forced to pay extra money on top of their normal transport expenditures. For client groups, we met in the evening, when the participants indicated that business would be slow. Third, all FGDs were held in the working areas of the participants. Fourth, most participants did not speak English and I was no fluent in the local language of Lugandan. Therefore interpretation was provided by Daisy, who co-facilitated all the discussions

Data was mainly recorded through written notes. Other recording methods were attempted at different times, but these proved to be difficult and inappropriate. Photographs were not welcome due to fears of arrest. Sex workers are often threatened with their identities being revealed in newspapers, since 'shaming' is one of the government's methods of eliminating

the 'problem' of sex workers. Voice recordings were accepted at first, but background noise in the research settings made it ineffective.

In order to encourage involvement and express my gratitude, participation was compensated with a drink, a large box of generic condoms, and a small box of flavoured condoms. Flavoured condoms were suggested by the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) in South Africa because it was something useful but luxurious for sex workers to have in both their professional and personal lives, since they were not readily available in Uganda. When I asked participants what other compensation would be useful, they agreed that condoms were most appropriate, but hinted that they would expect more substantial compensation had I asked more of them or was staying for a longer period of time. Strikingly, they referred to the kind of compensation arising out of larger action research projects like a public good or service that met their specific needs and interests.

Proposed script for FGDs with sex workers

Introduction

Thank you for taking the time to talk to us. My name is Devi and I will be asking the questions in English, and Daisy will translate for me into Lugandan. You can answer in Lugandan, and Daisy will only translate back to me in English when I ask her to.

I am doing this research for my university. I want you to teach me more about your work so that I can present what you have to say to different people. I will use what you say to encourage people to listen to your thoughts and concerns. People may take this information and use it to design a development project that can help sex workers. This is what they do for a lot of development work: they go to people, and ask them what is good, what is bad, and what should be improved. For example, in South Africa, sex workers used to be treated very badly, but more and more people have begun to ask questions and accept them. [Physically show the publication on sex work in South Africa, *Selling Sex in Cape Town: Sex Work and Human Trafficking in a South African City*] This whole book is about sex work. Sex workers in South Africa have been given a chance to speak, they can be more open now, and there are sometimes international organizations and lawyers that come to help in a case of violence or abuse.

Has anyone participated in research before? (Show of hands)

If yes, please explain.

I want you to feel comfortable answering these questions. Sometimes you will each give an answer and sometimes you should answer together as a group. You should feel comfortable to discuss together your answers. You are here to teach me, so tell me whatever you want, and as much as you want. There are no right or wrong answers, just differences in opinion.

Group questions

All questions are directed at the group, unless otherwise indicated.

- What are the names/words used to describe this work?
- What was the reason you started doing this work? (answered by each participant)
- Do you like your job? (Answered by show of hands)
- What are some good points about your job?
- What are some bad points about your job?
- Why do you accept the bad things about your job?
- Why do you think sex work exists?
- How does society view sex work?
- Do you agree/disagree with this view? Why or why not?
- Do you think sex work is important?
- Why do you think there are mostly female sex workers, and then only male clients?
- Who do you most often turn to when you need help? Why?
- Do you know about human rights? Where did you learn about them?
- If you could change one thing about this kind of work, what would you change?
- What did you think of this discussion? How can I improve it?

Demographic questions

Directed at individuals, before and/or after the discussion.

- How old are you?
- Are you from Kampala? Where were you born?
- What level did you reach at school?
- Do you have children/dependents?
- Do you service only/mostly clients of the opposite sex?
- Contact information

Proposed script for FGDs with clients

Introduction

Thank you for taking the time to talk to us. My name is Devi and I will be asking the questions in English, and Daisy will translate for me into Lugandan. You can answer in Lugandan, and Daisy will only translate back to me in English when I ask her to.

I am doing this research for my university. I am curious to learn more about sex work in Kampala. I have already asked different sex workers about their opinions, and now I feel like it is important know your thoughts.

Group questions

- What is sex work?
- Who is a sex worker?
- What do you think about sex work?
- Why do men buy sex?

- What kind of men buy sex workers?
- Why do you think women sell sex?
- What do you think of these women?
- When you go with a sex worker, do you use a condom? Why or why not?
- Do you think sex work is a good job? Why or why not?
- What problems do sex workers face?
- Do clients have any problems with sex workers?
- Do you think sex work should be legalized? Why or why not?

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

List of in-depth interviews (IDI) with current and former sex workers

No.	Date	Person interviewed
1	29 Jan 2009	**IDI 1** - Former outdoor- and indoor-based sex worker
2	12 Feb 2009	**IDI 2** - Current outdoor-based female sex worker
3	16 Feb 2009	**IDI 3** - Current indoor-based transgender sex worker
4	18 Feb 2009	**IDI 4** - Former indoor-based female sex worker
5	18 Feb 2009	**IDI 5** - Current indoor-based female sex worker
6	24 Feb 2009	**IDI 6** - Current outdoor- and indoor-based female sex worker
7	24 Feb 2009	**IDI 7** - Current indoor-based female sex worker

List of semi-structured interviews with experts

No.	Date	Person interviewed
1	11 Dec 2008	**Dr. Sylvia Tamale** - Associate Professor and Dean of Law at Makerere University - Coordinator, Law, Gender, and Sexuality Research Project, Faculty of Law, Makerere University - Sexual politics activist
2	16 Feb 2009	**Male and female participants*** - Representatives for the National Association for Women's Organizations in Uganda (NAWOU)
3	16 Feb 2009	**Hope Turyasingura** - Violence Against Women Program Officer, Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP)
4	25 Feb 2009	**Male researcher*** - Lead researcher of Sero Project, Ministry of Health, Kampala, Uganda
5	27 Feb 2009	**Solome Nakaweesi Kimbugwe** - Executive director, Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA)

* These participants requested that their names not be included in the research.